

Why Did They Do That? An exploration of explanations as to why Europeans behave as they have towards Native People

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to encourage deeper understanding of the Native-European interaction by focusing on the question of Why Europeans acted as they did towards Native peoples. I encourage this because I'm not satisfied with the answers I have seen to this question, because answering it is central to understanding the Native-European interaction, and, lastly, because exploring and answering this Why has become timely and essential.

Being dissatisfied, it follows I provide my own Why answer--and I do so below. However, it became clear in developing this paper that just as important, perhaps even more so for encouraging a deeper understanding, is an exploration of the process of how this basic question has been approached. This led me to several other Why questions: Why hasn't the basic issue of European motivations been more fully explored, considering the enormous amount that has been said and written about the Native-European interaction? Why have so few writers, Native or non-Native, even asked Why? Why do people begin to ask Why at a certain point in time and not another? And why are the Why's offered inadequate--in my opinion?

All this led me to structure the paper as follows. First are some comments about levels of knowledge. Second, I report on a survey of the works of 14 writers in which it might be expected that the Why question would be taken up, which means discussing both the absence and the presence of Why answers. Third, I critique the several Whys I did find. Fourth, I give my own Why answer. And Fifth, I suggest some reasons why the Why question has not been more asked or explored.

Levels of Knowledge

Asking Why is the deepest of three levels of knowledge about any process, including what Europeans did to Native peoples. It is my observation that the investigations of what Europeans did most often do not get beyond the first level (What), sometimes get to the second (How), and only rarely to the third level, (Why).

The first level of knowledge is What happened. Essentially this concerns the facts of the crime scene, as in the popular CSI shows. But even at this level, when a controversial issue is involved there can be disputes as to just what the facts are. In the

last 500 years or so there are literally thousands of works about What happened to Native peoples when Europeans came.

The second level is How. This question concerns How events happened, the process of how the facts came to be--also part of any CSI. By what processes did Europeans bring about the results, the facts, of what happened? How did Native peoples lose lands? How were Native minds to be changed?

The third and deepest knowledge level--the focus of this paper--is Why? At this level there is the most controversy because there are interests at stake that don't want the Why of what they are doing exposed, especially if this could lead to challenges to change or stop what they are doing.

It is necessary to ask Why in order to deal with the consequences of What happened in the past or is still happening now. Otherwise, only the symptoms of the disease are being treated. The disease will just generate new symptoms unless the Why causing the disease itself is addressed.

Why ask Why? And why it's important at this time to ask Why

For me, the Why question arises directly out of 50 years work concerning issues between Native and non-Native communities. I was confronted with the Whats, then the Hows, and finally the Whys in my own personal process of trying to understand and solve real life problems. This led me to a model of the Native-European interaction I developed for a paper given at the first ANS Conference in 2013, reproduced in Figure 1 below. This model can be used to spin out the Whats and Hows quite deeply, and I'll refer to it as we go along. However, it is important to note that while the model concerns What and How, it does not directly explain Why.

When the Why question is raised is not an accident: People don't ask Why until some of the Whats and Hows are explored and until there's a pressure to go deeper. I suggest the challenges we face today require such a deeper look for both Native and non-Native worlds.

First, in the light of these challenges, a clearer understanding of Why can help identify ways to bring Natives and non-Natives together on common issues. A clearer Why in regard to what is changing in both worlds allows a better assessment of which

issues to focus on, and who is supporting what, and why. It also leads to a better understanding of the complexities of European societies.

Second, greater clarity as to Why will show that Native societies have a very important contribution to make to discussion and action concerning the planet's future: They are not peoples living in the past.

Third, knowing Why would also go a long way to reducing my list of 50 plus Whats that came from Europe, by making it more clear just What did come.

In general, answering Why Europeans did what they did will necessitate understanding European history and the European dynamic in much more depth.

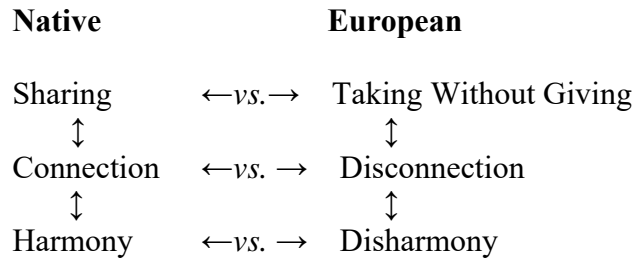
Whats before Whys

Before one can ask Why, it is necessary to have some idea of What came from Europe and What it or they did concerning Native peoples. It is very significant analytically to note that many writers use their What phrase to imply or stand for Why without ever directly asking the question Why.

In examining the Native-European interaction, it really doesn't look very good if each time Europe is referred to the author says, "Something came from Europe and had a major impact on Native peoples worldwide but I haven't a clue what it is." Besides being an awfully long phrase to repeat each time, no thinker would want to admit to so little understanding of what came from Europe. In practice, everyone does come up with some one word or short phrase to describe or name it.

A significant and interesting observation is the remarkably large number of different Whats that have been given in answer to the question of what came from Europe. I've kept a list of these over the years, which at this point totals over 50 terms, as listed in Figure 2.

This raises still another interesting Why, which is why do people use so many terms? Is it because 50 plus different Whats came from Europe? Is it confusion about what exactly did come from Europe? Are some people trying to avoid pinpointing a distinct one or two core Whats that go to the heart of what Europe is all about?

Figure 1**A Model of the Native – European Interaction****About this model**

Please see my paper delivered at the First Alaska Native Studies Conference for a full discussion of the model (Kaliss 2013).

I wanted a brief and clear model that once put in motion can fully spin out the interactions of the Native-European encounter.

The arrows indicate that each term interacts vertically and horizontally.

I deliberately chose terms that combine the practical and the spiritual. Each term is practical in that it can be studied and documented, spiritual in that each term embodies a spiritual outlook on how life should be lived. For example, the process of Sharing can be documented, but Sharing is also a spiritual expression of a way of life.

The three vertical terms operate together to form the practical and spiritual basis of a way of life. I believe this is consistent with the Native worldview that observes that for humans the way of knowing the practical must pass through a spiritual process that integrates the knowing of the objective facts into spiritually based actions.

Two disclaimers: The two sides of the model absolutely are not meant to represent a case of Noble Natives sharing everything and Savage Europeans taking everything. Native teaching stories make clear the presence of good and evil in their own societies long before any Europeans entered the picture, and within European societies there has always been a strong resistance to taking-without-giving.

Secondly, Europeans have no monopoly on conflicts with Native societies. I focus on Europeans because that's mainly whom I've been working with and, also, because Europeans have interacted with more Indigenous peoples worldwide than any one else. By European I mean Euro-American, Euro-New Zealand, English, French, Russian, etc.

*Figure 2***What did you say it is that came from Europe?**

This is a list of words describing what came from Europe that I have gathered over the years from many speakers and writers, Native and non-Native. I have listed some of the most frequently encountered terms at the beginning. Many of the terms are used in a two word phrase and I give some examples in ().

White (culture, government, education)	Commodity valuations" of natural resources
Western (In Canada- South, southern)	Wage Economy -- cash economy
Culture (European)	Alien Society
Colonial/ism	Foreign (society)
Non-Natives/Indians	Science
Modern (modernization)	Capitalist/ism
Settlers (state, government)	Bourgeois
Old (vs. New world)	Bureaucrats
Christian, Judeo-Christian	Complex society
Protestant Ethic	Core (vs. Periphery)
Anglo, Anglo-Saxon	Corporate
Civilization/zed	Democratic/Democracy
Eurocentric (research, theories)	Liberal democracy
Immigrants, Outsiders, Newcomers	General public
Imperialism	Whitestream
Industrial/zed	Expansionism (European)
Technological (society)	Forces (economic, of market)
American, Canadian, Europeans	Government, Federal (policy)
Euro-American, Euro-Canadian, etc.	Metropole (perspective of the)
Dominant (society)	Middle class
Larger/broader society, system	General American ethical system
We, Us, Our	New form of economic relations
Contemporary (society, way of life)	Other people's nation states
Contemporary Western liberal capitalist society	Public policy
Mainstream, main street (on the tundra)	Settled acquisitive cultures
Majority (culture)	Two very different societies
Market, the	Nation
Cash economy (committed to a	Urban (encirclement, environment)
Values "human values" vs. "economic values"	

Some of the Whats are much more frequently used than others. I have listed the most used ones first, with *White* and *Western* far and away the most common. For example: Whites prohibited, white education, white settlers, or substitute *Western* as in Western policies, or Western values or cultures, and so on.

Using Whats in place of Whys

If one reads a long book in which *White* or *Western* are used repeatedly to refer to Europe, one might well think that a color or direction must have something to do with why Europeans did what they did. For this reason I don't use these two words, since I don't believe that a color or a direction explain European behavior. Instead I use *European*, as a locational term that is correct and non-controversial in referring to where the people came from, but that in no way suggests why they behaved as they did. I strongly suspect that in many cases letting the What imply the Why is a way of avoiding addressing the Why question head on.

There are some recent changes. *White* has gone somewhat out of fashion, I think precisely because of writers' wanting to avoid the implication that race or skin color explains why Europeans behave as they do. *Western* is still very much in use,

Since around 2000, *colonialism*, or more exactly *decolonization*, as a process, has become a very significant term. The analytical limit of this term is that while it is both a What and a How it is still not the answer to Why. Colonialism, like racism, is a tool for how domination is achieved and maintained. However, it is still necessary to specifically identify who constructs and uses these tools and, most importantly, why they need and use them.

Another term that has come into fairly frequent use in the discussion of colonialism is *Settler*, as a reference to who is doing the colonizing and enacting subsequent policies towards indigenous peoples. But, like *colonialism*, *Settler* refers to what happened but does not explain why the settling happened in the first place.

In the works examined for this presentation, the most common What words are *Western*, *Global Society*, *Eurocentric*, *Dominant*, *Colonialists* and *colonization*, *Imperialism*, *Modern*, *Science* (Western or European), *Technology* (*technomechanistic*) *Farmers*, *Capitalism*, and *Missionaries*. Since only five of the authors attempt any Why,

the reader is left with What words to suggest as they may Why Europeans acted as they did.

Survey Results

In developing my own Why analysis it was useful and necessary to see how others deal with this question. In a 1991 paper entitled "What Was the 'Other' That Came On Columbus's Ships?" I looked at these questions in literature from the 1960s up to that time. I was surprised by how few writers went into Why. For that article I reviewed 35 authors, all of whom were non-Native .

Now this situation has changed. The remarkable increase in the number of Native authors and the timeliness of asking Why reflect very important and significant changes in the situation of indigenous peoples worldwide.

First, Native communities and peoples have made clear that they are not going to disappear as was expected--and hoped for--by some on the European side. Moreover, they are in the process of rebuilding and asserting themselves everywhere in the world and in every way.

Second, in this process more Native individuals have gone through European-type higher education institutions, obtained degrees and positions where they began to speak out on what it means to be Native in the 21st century. This especially has meant exploring the nature of an Indigenous worldview and research practices and how these differ from the European. Globalization adds to this process, in that it has brought Native peoples worldwide into direct and ongoing contact, and it adds pressure and provides opportunities to explore more deeply.

Certainly one might expect that as Native writers probe more deeply they must get to the question of Why: not only why Europeans have behaved as they have, but also why Native peoples have behaved as they have. Certainly my own views have developed and changed in this process. However, in these works much more attention is still being paid to What and How than to Why, although I did find some Whys as discussed below.

For this paper I reviewed 14 authors--7 from Alaska, 4 from Canada, 2 from the Lower 48, and 1 from New Zealand. Of these, only 5 are non-Natives, 3 from Alaska and 2 from Canada. With one exception, all are published after 1990. I consider all these works as important--even required--reading concerning Native-European interactions,

and they explore those interactions to the degree where it seems the Why question might well and logically be expected to arise.

This list could be considerably longer, especially considering the remarkable growth in the number of books and articles by Native writers since 1999. Given the constraints of this article and that I wanted to include Alaska-based writers, I decided to include those writers and then several works by non-Alaska writers that are representative of the Whys I did find.

What I find as to Why

Among the authors examined, I encountered five different Whys in the works of five authors, all of whom have book-length examinations of major issues concerning the Native-European interactions, all written (or revised) since 2000. Eight other writers, the majority surveyed, while also contributing important works focusing on these interactions, contain little or nothing as to why Europeans behave as they did or do.

I did not exclude these eight, because when understanding a process it is sometimes as important to note when something does not happen as when it does. This is very much the case in exploring how the analysis of the European-Native interaction has developed over time--in particular why so many writers have not addressed the question of Why. In sum, these eight authors deeply enough raise what Europeans have done that it is reasonable to expect that they might go on to ask Why. I suggest that the reasons they do not ask Why are not due to accident or oversight but are significant analytically.

The earliest of these works, *A Report on Subsistence and the Conservation of the Yupik Life-Style*, was issued by Yupiktak Bista in 1974. Although I focus on writers since 1990, works appearing after my 1991 paper mentioned above, I reach back to this work because I want to include as many Alaskan works as I can and it is the first Native Alaskan work to specifically explore the European-Native interaction.

On the front cover is a quote from the book, "Does one way of life have to die so another can live?" Inside is a detailed look at the harm that "Western" behaviors have inflicted on the Yup'ik people, *Western* being the word the authors use to refer to Europe, for example: Western customs, Western laws, Western institutions. The authors state that "the entire system of Western Civilization continues to erode our way of life" (6), that "Western civilization apparently can not live without laying waste to the natural world"

(59), and that "Western civilization appears to have lost its way and no longer makes any sense" (75). These "Western" behaviors are all seen as in direct contrast with the Yup'ik way of sharing with each other and the land.

Given such a serious critique of the "West" and its impact on Native peoples, it seems that asking Why Europeans did this would be a useful, logical, even necessary, question to ask as part of determining Native survival strategies, but Why is nowhere dealt with.

Larry Mercurieff, Aleut, over a good many years has contributed in a wide variety of venues (articles, conferences, studies, etc.) to a thoughtful and useful discussion of what he usually calls a "Western" worldview and "Aboriginal" cultures. I choose the example of his 1990 article, *Western Society's Linear Systems And Aboriginal Cultures: The Need For Two-Way Exchange For The Sake Of Survival*, in which he contrasts "Western" societies' linear systems with the cyclical views of Aboriginal peoples. He describes the linear system as seeing a linear progression from primitive to advanced, with the Western societies being the most advanced. Mercurieff sees this linear view as harmful to Aboriginal people and threatening the "destruction of human kind on earth" (191). Given the depth of difference between the two worldviews and the severity of the consequences of the linear view, it might be expected that one would ask Why the West came to think this way; however, Mercurieff does not ask this question in this or any other of his published writings that I know of.

In 1991 two book-length works appeared specifically exploring the European impact on Native peoples, one by Harold Napoleon (Yup'ik) and one by the Euro-Canadian judge Thomas Berger.

Harold Napoleon, in his very important work, *Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being*, strikingly states and explains the concept of what has since come to be called Historical Trauma on Alaska Native peoples: that with the coming of "Western man" (9) a great crisis came on the Yup'ik peoples, due to the effects of European diseases and attacks on Yup'ik culture. This concept is key to understanding the situation of the Native peoples of Alaska (and elsewhere) as peoples and individuals. In particular, he makes clear that the problems many individual Native people and families are undergoing cannot be understood apart from the Historical Trauma that lie at their roots. Again, given

the severity of the impact of the “West” and the need to find ways to deal with it, one might want to ask Why, but he does not.

Thomas Berger is the Canadian judge well known in Alaska for chairing the Alaska Native Review Commission in the mid-1980s and for his very useful book about the results, *Village Journey* (1985), in which the Native voice is given central place. He had been invited to Alaska based on his previous work chairing the Mackenzie Pipeline Inquiry into how its construction would affect Native peoples in Canada.

In his 1991 work, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas 1492-1992*, Berger sets out to detail the impact of "Europeans" on Native peoples of North and South America: "I decided to go back to the beginning, to try to trace the malaise [i.e., problems in Native communities - tk] to its origins in the coming of the Europeans to the New World" (26). He describes his book as "an attempt to explain to those of us in the dominant society our ideas about ourselves and about our attitudes towards Native peoples" (xii).

Certainly in a work of this scope, depth, length, and focus on Europeans the Why question might well be expected, but Berger nowhere raises it. Instead there is a quite detailed presentation of what was done, using a number of What terms, including *European, white, dominant, us/our, and industrial*. There is only one brief hint of a Why in the entire book, when he comments that the English and Americans were commanded by God to subdue the earth (71).

Next, for understanding the Native-European interaction in human terms, is Father Michael Oleksa's very useful 2005 work, *Another Country/Another World*. Father Oleksa's long and creative service as a Russian Orthodox priest in Native Alaska, along with his equally creative abilities as a public speaker, have made him a very valuable contributor to better understanding here in Alaska. Considering What came from Europe, it is interesting that while there can be no doubt that Oleksa is talking about Europeans as one side of the interaction, he rarely uses that term. Instead he uses a number of other What words and phrases, such as *modern world, majority culture, dominant society, newcomers, and WASP*. So, while his book is very useful for increasing the awareness of differing customs and viewpoints, the number of differing terms diffuses the focus on

Europe as such, which may be one reason he nowhere asks Why whatever or whoever it is that came from Europe behaved and believed as they did.

Oscar Kwagley (Yup'ik), in his doctoral dissertation as developed and extended in *A Yupiaq Worldview: A Pathway to Ecology and Spirit* (1995, 2nd ed. 2006), significantly influenced my own dissertation thinking. His central point is that the Western (his most common term for Europe) techno-mechanistic worldview and exploitative approach to nature is no longer adequate or appropriate, which he contrasts with the Native worldview that recognizes the importance of human consciousness and spirituality in learning about the world and how to live in harmony with it. He details both views and their consequences, but at no point does he ask Why Europeans believed and acted as they did and do.

Shawn Wilson (Cree), in his recent and creative work *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (2008), provides another important in-depth contribution by a Native writer towards articulating a Native worldview generally and applying it to the development of a Native research process more particularly. He specifically targets the European worldview (he generally uses the word *dominant*) as harmful to Natives and asks whether the European research methods are necessarily tied to that view or whether those methods could be cleaned up and become acceptable. His answer to the latter question is no, and he strongly makes the point that these differing and often conflicting research approaches are inseparable from the worldviews they originate in and are influenced by. Given his focus and the depth of his analysis of what the European worldview and research have done regarding Native peoples, one might expect him to ask Why the Europeans behaved as they did, but he does not.

In 2008, Clifton Bates and Father Michael J. Oleksa published *Conflicting Landscapes: American Schooling/Alaska Natives*. This moving and critical work analyzes the devastatingly negative effects of the imposed non-Native education system on Native children. *Western* is the term they most use when referring to the non-Native school system specifically; *Global society* is the term most employed in referring to the source of negative things done by this system.

Their portrayal of the depth and extent of those negative effects supports, for me, a long held conclusion that a truly Native education system must be one that is truly

controlled by Native peoples. However, the authors do not go beyond suggesting reforms in the existing system that could help to make incoming non-Native teachers and administrators more sensitive. In any case, they do not raise the question of Why "Westerners" or the "Global system" behaved as they did and do, or Why they wanted to impose their system.

Those who asked Why

As noted above, I identified five authors who do explore several factors in European history that can be considered as answers in some part as to why Europeans behaved as they did.

The first Why concerns certain Christian doctrines or beliefs which three authors identify as directly opposed to most Native beliefs and which are responsible for European behaviors that impacted negatively on Native peoples. The phrase "responsible for" leaves room for different interpretations of exactly how solely and/or directly responsible these Christian beliefs are for the behaviors of Europeans as they moved out of Europe and around the world. This is discussed below.

In date order, this factor is first raised by Vine Deloria in his *God is Red* (1972, 2003), then by Gregory Cajete in his groundbreaking and essential work, *Native Science* (2000), which develops in detail the Native worldview in contrast to that from Europe, and in Hugh Brody's work *The Other Side Of Eden: Hunter-Gatherers, Farmers and the Shaping of the World* (2001), which is devoted to his own Why answer. Vine Deloria, a Sioux spiritual leader and professor, was one of the early Native American activists from the 1960s onwards. Cajete (Tewa) is a professor at the University of New Mexico, and Brody is a non-Native British anthropologist who worked with Northern Native groups in Canada.

A main point for all three authors is the Christian doctrine that God gave humans dominion over all the earth, which is seen as directly opposed to most Native beliefs that humans are one among many equal relatives in the natural world. This Christian Biblical doctrine, it is suggested, led to Europeans' belief that humans are superior and have the right to control and do whatever they wish with nature. (Cajete 53, 302; Brody 52; Deloria 81)

Another point concerns what these and other authors describe as European linear reasoning as opposed to Native cyclical thinking: different ways of reasoning due to differing views of the basic processes of Nature. The Christian reasoning sees the world and human society as proceeding in a straight line from a divine act of creation to an apocalyptic end of the world. God has chosen a particular people, Christians generally and Europeans particularly, who will proceed along this line. Often this is viewed as motion along a line tilting upwards from past to future beginning from the lower, more primitive Native peoples upwards to the later, higher and more developed Christian Europeans. It is assumed that the higher is more advanced and superior, so Christian European behaviors, beliefs, and existence are seen as superior to those of non-Christians and non-Europeans. This process is seen as fulfilling God's plan for history.

This linear reasoning is contrasted to a cyclical reasoning on the part of Native peoples, which perceives the natural world as moving in circles or cycles-- rather than toward heaven--which Native people experience living over long periods of time in a given place. (Cajete 210; Brody 83; Deloria 62)

Yet another point notes that the Christian focus is on heaven, as opposed to a Native focus on nature. The Christian sequence focuses on events that begin in heaven and are all designed to lead back there in the end. This is further emphasized by the Christian notion of the fundamental sinful nature of humans and a fallen nature that is redeemed only by the eventual return to heaven. In contrast, if Native people have a notion of a God/Great Spirit whose plan is being worked out, they see nature as the place where humans experience the working out of that plan, and in this process neither humans nor nature are seen as sinful or fallen to begin with. (See Deloria 165,169, 77)

All of these lead to the last point, which is that many Native peoples do not conceive of a great, single, dominant, external male god. The work of God--or the Gods, if any--or of the spirits that inhabit all of nature's processes is seen and experienced in the daily life of the Native people in nature in the here and now. (Cajete 53)

A second answer to the Why question refers to ancient Greek humanist philosophy as it was developed about 400 to 500 BC. This is discussed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Maori), in her very influential work, *Decolonizing Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples* (2012). It is suggested that this development shifted thinking from

the early Greek Naturalist philosophers who held views similar to the Native way of knowing, which involves spirituality and direct feeling and sensing, to a viewpoint which sees humans as central, and human rational thinking as the source of understanding, rather than myth, religion or spirituality. Again, this is a very different approach than the Native worldview (Smith 49).

A third answer to the Why question focuses on Western Cosmology vs. Indigenous Cosmology; the contrast at the center of Gregory Cajete's work just mentioned. This is the most developed and detailed of the Why explanations I came across. Cosmology refers to the study of how everything in the cosmos--the universe--is put together.

The main point of Cajete's argument is that Western Cosmology separates humans from nature, sees humans as in control over nature, and stresses the use of the rational mind (rather than spiritual understanding) in the process of humans coming to know the world, all of which Cajete views as in total opposition to Indigenous Cosmology, leading to the negative changes imposed on Native peoples.

Cajete does not say where these fundamental cosmologies come from. He says only that "Cosmologies are the deep-rooted spiritually expressed understandings of 'humans'. They predate all other human structured expressions, including religion, social and political orders" (p.52).

The fourth Why answer cites the influence of thinkers from the Enlightenment period in Europe, from about 1650 to 1800, who stressed individualism and the "modern" state--in contrast to Native societies, which were considered to be in an early primitive state of nature. This is another example of linear thinking about stages of history. This thinking and its consequences are cited in two essays by James Sakej Henderson (Chickasaw) in the very important collection of essays on *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* (2000), edited by Marie Battiste (Mi'kmaq) (11, 15, 57), and discussed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, who sees European imperialism and what she calls the project of modernity as arising from the Enlightenment (33, 61).

The fifth and last Why appears in Hugh Brody's work, *The Other Side of Eden: Hunters, Farmers, and the Shaping of the World* (2000), in which he blames farming and the Biblical story of Genesis. Brody's fundamental Why relates to the existence of a

particular economic activity or system, farming, that is later reinforced by a Christian religious belief. While farming originates before Christianity, Brody argues that when it comes to European behavior in particular, the Book of Genesis provides a major religious justification for the spread of farming, in that Adam and Eve are thrown out of the Garden of Eden into a process of farming, with the command to multiply and take dominion over all that is in nature--which ultimately brings Europe into collision with Native peoples. His argument is that farmers need land to settle on and lots of children to work it; they then overpopulate, which increases the need for still more land, and all of this pushes aside Native peoples still further.

There is also an interesting explanation that I've come across in recent works which is sort of half way between a What and a Why, and that is the idea that recent discoveries in quantum physics or chaos theory can lead Europeans to better understand and respect Native worldviews of how all processes are interrelated. This, in turn, can lead to a reconciliation or working together. It is the basis for the suggestion by Ray Barnhardt and Oscar Kawagley in their very interesting and useful essay "Culture, Chaos, and Complexity" (2010) that seemingly-opposed Native and Western education systems can be brought to work together to develop a positive educational process for Native students.

Does this imply that Why Europeans acted as they did is due to an inadequate understanding of the interrelationships of all natural processes, as revealed by modern quantum physics? Or does this sidestep the Why by implying that whenever things came to be this way it's now possible to bring about a reconciliation? I do believe that changes in the Native-European relationship are possible, but I suggest that the origin and development of this relationship have more to do with changes in the interacting social-economic processes, as I detail below, rather than a deeper understanding of quantum physics.

Once more on Whats and Whys.

It is very important to note the distinction between Whats and Whys in regard to the discussion of why something happens. To say that something is a factor, even an important factor, or an influence on, or that it emphasized a certain outcome is not the

same as saying that this factor, influence, or emphasis is also the cause, the Why, the outcome occurred.

If one intends to say that *this* caused *that*, one must use the word *why* to say this is why a certain result followed, or use some word or a phrase that specifically and clearly is the equivalent of using the word *why*--for example, this event happened 'because' of that, a certain event 'led to' or 'caused' or 'resulted' or 'gave rise to' what followed. Also, in this regard, no matter how reasonable or even obvious the connection of *this* to *that* may appear to be to the reader or listener, it is not possible to jump from one's own reactions to saying that the author views the *this* as a Why unless the author specifically says so.

This is not splitting logical hairs. These are very real distinctions when it comes to the enormous mass of written and spoken materials concerning the European-Native interaction over the centuries. Sometimes it is very clear what the author intends, but this is infrequent. More often it is necessary to read or listen more closely or even repeatedly (when possible) to catch whether the author is providing a Why or a What or some mix of both. For example, Deloria, who presents the most extensive treatment of the role of Christianity in European behavior, asks, "Where did Westerners get their ideas of divine right to conquest, of manifest destiny of themselves as the vanguard of true civilization, if not from Christianity?" (111). Is 'getting an idea' also the explanation of why someone acts in a certain way?

And all this is aside from the additional, often complicated, question of ultimate causes or Whys, which I discuss below. A simple example of this is saying that the reason why Europeans took Native lands was to make a private profit from them. This is certainly a true Why, but it is not the ultimate Why, in the sense that it is still necessary to ask why Europeans viewed lands in this way in the first place.

Four of the Whys I found concern ways of thinking, and one is about an economic activity. Of the four concerning ways of thinking, three of these thought processes developed long before Europeans took off around the world in the late 1400s for fun and profit. Can a system of thought developed long ago be the cause of present actions? One can certainly suggest that present actions may be influenced by long-past events and that people may explain or justify their present actions on the basis of much earlier thought systems, but there remains the question of whether much earlier thinking explains why

people are acting as they are at present. So while earlier thought systems may have influenced Europeans, it still must be explained why Europeans took off when they did over a thousand years later and it is necessary to be specific as to whether much earlier thought was an influence or the actual cause.

The fourth, Enlightenment thinking, comes some 150 years *after* the beginning of European expansion, and I suggest it represents Europeans thinking and rationalizing after the fact about what these new developments mean. There is still the question of why these new developments occurred.

However, the most important point is that all four concern what humans think. There is a serious weakness in Why explanations based on thoughts: It still remains to explain why people came to think these thoughts. Thoughts do not come out of nowhere. In short, there is an important deeper level of Why that none of these authors deal with. Human thoughts arise from human activities, so it seems important to examine the conditions of a given human society at a given time to understand the origin of the thinking.

The fifth Why, Brody's focus on farming, concerns a social-economic activity. The problem here is that farming developed long before Europeans took off around the world and that farming was certainly not the driving economic force of that expansion. Moreover, nearly all Native peoples in North America south of the Arctic practiced some farming--the more so the more south--yet they did not do as the Europeans did.

In conclusion, my observation is that the majority of writers do not even get to the question of Why, and for the few that have I find their Whys inadequate or incomplete. As also noted, I believe that asking Why at this time is critically important for taking on current issues and developing future strategies.

My Why

I view social-economic systems as the basis for explaining why people think as they do. This is a fairly straightforward explanation. But what is remarkable from the point of view of the process of asking why Europeans behave as they did and do is that this explanation is almost non-existent among writers both Native and non-Native. I believe this is not an accident, and there are several reasons why I think this is so, as discussed below.

By 'social-economic system' I specifically refer to the economic base of a system and the social arrangements made to work that economic base. In terms of my model, Sharing is the economic base of most Native systems, Taking Without Giving is the economic base of the capitalist system that led to the European expansion which so impacts Indigenous peoples worldwide,

On any economic base a whole set of social arrangements and ideas develops that express that economic base. The social and economic arrangements taken together form a complex system: therefore the term *social-economic system*.

My point is that the internal dynamics of social-economic systems necessarily lead to the thinking expressed in the two sides of my model. In other words, the basic Why that stands behind each of these very different life ways is a very different social-economic system.

Historically, two European social-economic systems have impacted Native peoples--the European forms of capitalism and socialism. Capitalism is the system that has most impacted Native peoples over historical time and geographical space. European socialism was a relatively very recent development, and in practice regarding Native peoples primarily concerns only one country, the USSR, and then mainly its largest republic--Russia.

The word *capitalism* is on the list in Figure 2, but much lower down because it is used very rarely if at all in the works I've encountered over the years. When it is used, it is mostly as a passing reference rather than as a critical causal factor, with little or no detail as to what it is or how it operates.

The focus here is on capitalism. Time and length constraints prevent further detail on the socialist experience as it developed in the USSR. However, I did explore this in an unpublished conference paper (Kaliss 1995) and in detail in my doctoral dissertation (Kaliss 1999).

Why not ask Why?

So Why haven't researchers of the Native-European interactions explored Why as much as they might? I suggest five reasons, which are not necessarily related but which sometimes act together in various combinations towards the end result of avoiding the Why.

First, from the Native perspective the deepest reason is that for Native thinkers the way of life or living is more important than the specific social-economic system that underlies it. The second reason arises from authors' not wanting to confront head-on the very strong powers-that-be in the social-economic system practicing taking-without-giving on Indigenous peoples as per my model. A third reason is the general lack of knowledge in the English-speaking academic world of the fundamental critique of the capitalist economic system made by Karl Marx. Fourth is the fragmentation of the academic subject matter disciplines in the European way of knowing the world. And fifth is the lack of familiarity with the history of Europe. These reasons are explored below.

The first, the deepest, most important and most complex reason is that for many Native writers stressing contrasting ways of life is of deeper concern than focusing on contrasting social-economic systems. In indigenous worldviews, as I understand them and see them being increasingly explored and developed by Native writers in recent years, what is key for humans is establishing and maintaining the proper relationships among humans and between humans and nature. I agree with this perspective and it is fundamental to the model I presented above.

Focusing on the way of life appears central to the Native worldview in regard to two points. One is that it can be applied to all aspects of human relations, not just to those human relations arising from social-economic systems. In other words, it can be applied to relations between individuals, family relationships, social groupings, relations among different peoples and tribes, the relations of humans to nature both individually and socially, and so on. The point is that a way of life is much broader than a specific social-economic system. Indeed, the core of my model is the expression of two contrasting and opposing ways of life.

In today's globalized world, the broader application of focusing on ways of life is also important and useful for exploring the relations among different political, social and religious movements, as well as for assessing social-economic systems that are not directly capitalist, such as those in China and parts of Africa and the Middle East.

The other point is the central role spirituality plays in Native worldviews or ways of knowing, and the important related issue of spirituality vs. objectivity. Whatever may be the objective facts that influence human behavior--for example in the factual workings

of a social-economic system--the understanding of those facts and the actual behavior of humans based on that understanding must first pass through their spiritual system, through a spiritual filter. Therefore, understanding what influences humans on the spiritual level is critically important for changing actual human behavior in a spiritually based way of life. To focus on ways of life is, therefore, to focus on the spiritual factor. This contrasts with European Science, which focuses on facts out of their spiritual context and apart from ways of life.

From such a standpoint, it is quite logical that the conflicts between Natives and Europeans are seen as arising from contrasting ways of life in a spiritual framework. I agree with this, and have tried to represent this contrast in my model. But I do add that for me these two ways of life, in the European-Native situation, have their basis in two different social-economic systems.

Historically, this emphasis on the spiritual approach works well enough when there is only one basic spiritual, social and economic arrangement, about which there is general agreement and approval, as exists in the social-economic system shown on the Native side in my model. In that situation, the objective facts of how that system functions are not so important because general social agreement about how to live exists and can be assumed. In that situation it is possible and important to focus on the way of life that keeps that system functioning.

On the other hand, a system based on taking without giving results in a fundamental internal social-economic split in the spiritual, social and economic arrangements. By definition there can be no common general social agreement within this system. This leads to social disconnection and contrasting spiritual outlooks that can only be understood by examining the facts of how such a system functions.

Clearly, therefore, when different social-economic systems are interacting, and when those systems are in fundamental opposition to each other, it becomes relevant and important to understand and explore the factual dynamics of those systems, because those dynamics result in, support, and generate two different ways of thinking about the right way to live--as reflected in my model of the European-Native interaction.

The second reason researchers may not explore the Why question concerns not wanting to wake the sleeping dragon, or not specifically name the dragon, lest it wake up

and focus on you. Yet, confronting the dragon is in some degree inevitable, given that the Native way of life is in fundamental confrontation with much of what came from Europe concerning certain basics of how to live. Certainly most writers, both Native and non-Native, are quite clear that deep differences in worldviews and ways of living exist, whatever word they may use to describe what it is that came.

Over time, as how to express and discuss these basic differences changes and becomes clearer, the programmatic and strategic conclusions to draw from this confrontation will also change and become clear. However, a deeper understanding leads to a clearer and sharper confrontation with the powers that be in the European-based societies.

In that situation, not wanting a head-on confrontation can become a factor in how the Why question is approached. Directly provoking those powers--the same powers that make academic decisions, control budgets, funding and grants--can have consequences. I saw the same process at work during the time I spent in Russia, where I encountered both academics and government officials who were well aware of the existence of serious problems Native peoples were encountering due to policies of both the government and the ruling Communist Party but feared to confront them head on.

Third, when it does come to the capitalist dragon, it is necessary to be clear about what it is and why it acts as it does. This means getting to know Marx, whose deepest, most lasting impact is his detailed analysis of the dynamics of the capitalist social-economic system. That analysis shows how the taking-without-giving process described in the right side of my model is built into that system.

However, relatively few people in the US and Canada, including academics, know his work, due to the intense anti-communism and anti-Marxism in the US and Canada during the Cold War and the fact that most economics departments are staunch defenders of the system. They argue that capitalism is not only the best social-economic system but that it takes advantage of no one--and this is all proved "scientifically." Having a Master's degree in economics and having taught the basic economics courses, I have experienced this argument first-hand.

It should be noted that another reason many Native writers have not more aware of Marx's analysis of the capitalist social-economic system is that they were troubled,

with good reason, that many of those who called themselves Marxists also believed in a system of stages of society in which Native peoples occupied the lowest, most primitive stage. This led to policies by some left political parties and governments that harmed indigenous peoples' interests, resulting in a tendency for Native writers and thinkers to dismiss Marxism as just another European viewpoint not helpful to Native peoples.

While I do think it is possible to see stages of human societies, it in no way follows that the earlier historically is necessarily primitive or backward. I suggest this is an assumption European Marxists accepted without thinking, as part of European superiority, leading to wrong and harmful attitudes towards Native peoples, as I saw in the USSR.

So I stress that, in regard to my point about the need for knowing Marx, I refer specifically to his analysis of the capitalist social-economic system, not to reasoning about stages of society in a way that sees Native societies as inferior to European.

The fourth reason researchers may have failed to ask the Why question concerns the fragmentation and separation of disciplines in the European model of how to study the world. In short, many anthropologists don't know economics (and the other way round), and historians may not know much about anthropology or economics (or even areas of history other than their own specialty), and. This results in many writers of European background who see only one piece of the dragon, rather than seeing the whole system. This can also happen with Native people who have gone through that same academic process.

This fragmentation and separation is no accident. It is part of deeper differences in how European Science and Native ways of knowing approach learning about the world. In terms of my model, it is the difference of viewing the world through disconnection, rather than through connection. In short, a worldview that sees connection as fundamental tends to look for the connections and relationships of processes--natural or social--whereas disconnection tends to divide the processes into separate pieces which leads to losing sight of the whole system.

The fifth, and last, reason the Why question has not been explored more fully is that many Native people don't really know or understand the European background as deeply as they might. This is not a criticism: They aren't European. It's a bit like my

trying to understand another civilization, say China, that is so different from my own. Native peoples are very familiar--because they couldn't avoid it--with what Europeans have done to them, and all the works I included here contain penetrating and sharp accounts of the Whats and Hows of what was done.

But it does take an extra effort to engage in the study necessary to reach a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the European Why. I believe that now is the time that such an effort becomes necessary to move beyond the What they did and How they did it to the Why.

However, it is important to note that almost all European writers who have focused on the Native-European interaction also do not deal with social-economic systems. In their case I think this is due both to not wanting to confront the European power structures head on and to the fragmentation and separation of disciplines--as well as the anti-Marxism--noted above.

Conclusions

No matter which Why explanation is chosen, it is time to ask Why, for all the reasons discussed above. As capitalism operates globally it aggravates all the processes shown on the right side of my model, to the point that it threatens not only the existence of Native peoples (in the Amazon, for example) but threatens non-Natives everywhere as well as the planetary environment itself. A better understanding of Why can help people everywhere to find common ground regardless of the social-economic system they are dealing with.

And, as noted above, in this globally connected time Native peoples are facing challenges in areas and regions where other social-economic processes than the classic European capitalist model are at work. Asking Why in those situations is just as important.

Generally speaking, the Native worldview has the basis for dealing with the present world complexity, which is why I think it is critical that Native thinkers continue to develop and apply that worldview more broadly and deeply to all the issues confronting humanity today.

I believe one could not find better examples of, or a better place for exploring everything I've been saying, than here and now in Alaska. The changes in Alaska mirror

the changes taking place worldwide, both for Native and non-Natives, and are bringing both sides into greater interaction.

The new Governor and Lieutenant Governor elected in 2014 would not have been elected without the Native vote. I attended several of the transition discussions they sponsored in Anchorage, and it was clear that the existence of tribes in Alaska and their distinct concerns was acknowledged and seen as significant in every subject area. Indeed, the word 'tribal' is being heard more and more in public discussions concerning all Alaska issues.

A critical part of Native revival in Alaska is also the increasing importance of Native governance and concerns. In relation to this, I believe that greater understanding of the Whys is essential to understanding the history and interaction of tribal governments, their inherent sovereignty, the private Alaska Native Corporations, the state-chartered governments, the history of Federal and State policies, and the history of Native/non-Native interactions as they have worked out in Alaska,. How all these will work together for the benefit of Native Alaska is an important challenge.

Finally, we now have the significant increase in Native students in higher education, for example in The Cross Cultural Indigenous PhD at UAF, the Native Studies Programs at UAF, UAA and UAS, and the UAF-UAA Ph.D. Program in Clinical-Community Psychology. The challenge here is for Native students, as well as for faculty, Native and non-Native, to research and write about Native Alaska. We so badly need book-length studies of the history and worldviews of Native Alaska. As stated at the beginning, my major goal is to support and encourage those efforts by asking and exploring Why.

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